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GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE (1695/96-1758).

FIRST CITIZEN OF WARWICK TO BE ELECTED GOVERNOR OF THE COLONY.

*Portrait in oil on canvas, signed and dated, by Peter Pelham.*

*Warwick Tercentenary, see page 40.*

*Courtesy of Mrs. Edith Roelker Curtis*

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ISSUED QUARTERLY AT PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

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HARRIS H. BUCKLIN, *President*

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## Samuell Gorton's Master Stroke

by WILLIAM GREENE ROELKER

Always adept in dealing with the Indians, on April 19, 1644, Samuell Gorton made his master stroke. Exploiting to the full the astonishment of the Indians at his miraculous escape from the clutches of the Massachusetts authorities,<sup>1</sup> he made a treaty with the Narragansett Sachems bringing "those Princes and People to a submission & acknowledgment of his said Royal Maj<sup>ty</sup> [Charles I] and his successors Kings of England as their supreme Lords and Sovereigne of that country."<sup>2</sup>

This statement reveals the importance which the treaty of subjection had already assumed by 1678. When the submission was made on April 19, 1644, Gorton's keen legal mind undoubtedly appreciated that his position before the English authorities would be strengthened thereby, but it is

<sup>1</sup>Samuell Gorton (he always wrote his first name *Samuell*) was a master publicist. Immediately upon reaching London in 1646 he published a full account of his difficulties with the Massachusetts authorities under the title, *Simplicities Defence Against Seven-Headed Policy*, republished, with notes by William R. Staples as volume II, *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections*, hereafter *R. I. H. S. Coll.* The particular reference is at 157-160. For a condensed account, see note 27.

<sup>2</sup>From the reply of Randal[1] Howlden and [Major] John Green[e], July 30, 1678, to the answer of the agents of Massachusetts. The full transcription is to be found in *John Carter Brown Historical Transcripts*, 1618-1746, 9 volumes, hereafter *J. C. B. Transcripts*, 1666-1682,

giving him credit for too much foresight to say that he anticipated the vital role which the treaty was to play in protecting Rhode Island from the aggressions of Massachusetts and Connecticut.

This treaty, the like of which had never been made between English and natives in North America, established in the King an indefeasible title to the Indians' land and satisfied the desire for conformity to legalism so ingrained in the mind of the 17th century Englishman. Barely more than an empty form at the time it was made, the treaty of subjection took on real substance when it became necessary to negotiate a new charter after the restoration of Charles II.

The Patent procured by Roger Williams in 1643/44 had Parliamentary authority only, since it had been granted during the English Civil War when Charles I was in flight from London. Rhode Island, like the other New England colonies, had "adhered" to Cromwell and the Protectorate, but now there was a new deal.<sup>3</sup>

No. [147]; abstract in *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1677-1680*, No. 767.

Irving B. Richman comments that the submission was probably Indian in origin but furthered by Gorton. "Be that as it may, the act in the sequel proved to be of controlling-importance for Rhode Island. In the capable hands of Randall Holden and [Major] John Greene it saved to the commonwealth—as we shall see in Chapter XV.—the rich province of Narragansett," *Rhode Island, Its Making and Meaning* (N. Y., 1908, 2nd ed.), 235. Richman's thoughtful study remains the best interpretation of the period 1636-83.

The text of the treaty is to be found in *J. C. B. Transcripts, 1618-66*, No. 16, and is printed in full in *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island* (Providence, 1856-65), hereafter *R. I. C. R.*, at I, 134-36; and two letters on the subject, one from the Sachems to Massachusetts, and another from John Warner, Secretary, to the General Court, at I, 136-40.

<sup>3</sup>From Rhode Island's letter of May, 1659 to Richard Cromwell: "Wee have found (notwithstandinge our sister collony's [Massachusetts] anger against us) high favour with the most honorable Counsell of State, established by authority of parliament, from whose noble hands, wee also received letters of gracious confirmation and refreshinge. And lastly (which is unspeakable mourneinge and joye unto us), your highness' dearest father was pleased, under his owne hand and seale [*R. I. C. R.*, I, 316-17] to refresh us also as with the dew upon the grass, and as with a clowde of the latter raine unto us." *R. I. C. R.*, I, 415, see also "Harris Papers," *R. I. H. S. Coll.*, X, 269.

"The restoration of the king," writes Professor Charles M. Andrews, "rendered doubtful the legal validity of the patent of 1644. It is to be remembered that parliament, though acting in the king's name, had issued the document without following, as far as we know, the regular process required for a letters patent, and also that the patent had served in Rhode Island to enforce principles, analagous to those of the Commonwealth and Protectorate which England had just discarded."<sup>4</sup> It was, therefore, of first importance for Rhode Island to demonstrate her loyalty to the new king. Her agent must be tactful and shrewd and be armed with the proper credentials. The treaty of submission by the Narragansett Sachems to the king's late father, Charles I, was ready at hand to prove Rhode Island's loyalty as well as the legality of her claims.

A letter from Dr. John Clarke in London announcing the accession of Charles II was read to the General Court sitting at Warwick, October 18, 1660. First of the New England colonies to take such action,<sup>5</sup> the Court immediately ordered the King to be proclaimed "tomorrow morninge at eight of the clocke."<sup>6</sup>

At the same session the Court authorized a committee "to draw up a drauft of a commission" to be sent to John Clarke, Physician, appointing him

our undoubted agent and Attorney; to all lawfull intents and purposes lawfully tending unto the preservation of all and singular the

<sup>4</sup>*The Colonial Period of American History* (New Haven, 1936), hereafter Andrews, II, 38. A clear statement of the difficulties facing Rhode Island is to be found in Samuel G. Arnold, *History of the State of Rhode Island* (N. Y. 1878, 3rd ed.), hereafter Arnold, I, 279-80; also Clarence S. Brigham, in Field's *History of Rhode Island*, I, 70-100.

<sup>5</sup>Andrews, *op. cit.*, II, 38; a resident of Newport, Clarke had been in London since 1651, when he went over with Roger Williams, Arnold, I, 239.

<sup>6</sup>*R. I. C. R.*, I, 432.

"Upon the first intelligence of the wonderful workinge hand of the most High, in making way to administration for your Majesties returne unto your Royall throne, did forthwith call a generall Court, and therein as a testimony of your ready and joyfull reception of you and of your petitioners faithfull allegiance and loyalty to you, did order of your petitioners owne accord and with joynt consent, that your Majestie should be forthwith proclaimed with as much solemnity as they could in all the Towns of that country." From Dr. Clarke's first petition to the King, *R. I. C. R.*, I, 485-89, at 488, from *J. C. B. Transcripts*, 1608-66, No. 30.

priviledges, liberties, bownderies and emunities of this Colony, as according to the true intent and meaninge of all contayned in our sayd charter, against all unlawfull userpations, intrusions, and claimes of any person or persons, on any pretences, or by any combination whatsoever; not doubtinge but the same gracious hand of Providence, which moved the most potent and royall power abovesayd, to give and graunt as the abovesayd free charter, will also still continue to preserve us in our just rights and priviledges, by the gracious favour of the power and royall majestie abovesayd. Whereunto wee acknowledge all humble submission and loyall subjection.<sup>7</sup>

There the matter rested until May 21, 1661, when the General Court meeting at Newport

having much upon their hearts the consideration of that dutifull obedience, legally and unfayned humble affection that this Collony doth owe and bear unto the crowne and dignity of his most excellent majestie, our dread soveraigne Lord the King of England, Scotland, Fraunce, and Ireland;

took the occasion

in all humble and thankfull manner, to present and prostrate ourselves, and that at his Majesties feet, and to beseech his Majesties favourable continuation of his goodness unto us, his most faythfull, tho poore and unworthy subicks in these remote partes of the world; and the better to declare our loyalty and humble sarvice unto his majestie, do apoynt our trusty and well beloved frend and agent to present our acknowledgments accordingly . . .<sup>8</sup>

No agent was appointed at this session though £200 was voted for his expenses. And in order to arm him for the difficult negotiation, the Court ordered that the treasured evidences of "our just rights and priviledges," meaning the "charter of Mr. Roger Williams" and the "subjection of the Narragansett Indians unto his majesty" procured by Samuell Gorton, be sent "for the use of the Collony, by our agent or agents in England."<sup>9</sup>

In spite of the order of the Court to the delegates of the towns "to consulte and make some progresse in the matter, on or before the 24th day of June," action was further delayed until a letter arrived from Dr. Clarke, August 27,

<sup>7</sup>*R. I. C. R.*, I, 432-34; at 434; Arnold, I, 275-76.

<sup>8</sup>*R. I. C. R.*, I, 442-43.

<sup>9</sup>*R. I. C. R.*, I, 434; 445-46.

1661.<sup>10</sup> This letter must have contained his acceptance of the arduous task, for the Court ordered:

that Mr. Arnold, Mr. Dyre, and Joseph Torrey, are desired to draw up a letter to Mr. John Clarke, of thankfulness, and to draw out his commission that was drawn up at the Courte at Warwicke, October the 18th, 1660," [and to send the money which had been pledged] to Mr. John Clarke, our agent in England.<sup>11</sup>

None of Dr. Clarke's many letters to the Colony appear to have survived. Nothing is known of their contents except the one received June the 17th, 1662, "wherein he declareth that our affayres are in a forward way to be efected theare [at Court] to the great comfort of the Collony, and that monyes only are wanting to mannadge the matter . . ."<sup>12</sup>

Shortly after receipt of his commission Dr. Clarke drafted a petition to the King which was received in the Colonial Office, January 29, 1661/62. A second, received February 5th, repeats the former petition and includes the plea that the petitioners

have it much on their hearts (if they may be permitted) to hold forth a lively experiment, that a flourishing civill State may stand, yea, and best be maintained, and that among English spirits, with a full liberty in religious concernments. . . .<sup>13</sup>

This phrase, so liberal as to startle contemporaries, was carried over verbatim into the Charter of 1663.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup>Slowness of communications probably accounts for the delay. In case Clarke should refuse, the Court nominated a list of men from which the agent should be selected: "Mr. Benedict Arnold, Mr. John Greene, Mr. William Dyre, Mr. Randall Houlden, Mr. Samuell Gorton and Mr. Roger Williams." *R. I. C. R.*, I, 441-42; Arnold, I, 276.

<sup>11</sup>*R. I. C. R.*, I, 448. It seems clear to the writer that only a draft of the commission was made, October 18, 1660, pending receipt of word that Dr. Clarke was willing to undertake the business. The commission does not appear to have issued until August 27, 1661, which would explain why his first petition to the King was not received in the Colonial office until January 29, 1661/62, *Cf. Andrews*, II, 38.

<sup>12</sup>*R. I. C. R.*, I, 482. The difficulty of procuring funds with which to meet the agent's expenses is shown by the request that drafts resulting from the sale of horses in the Barbadoes be turned in to the authorities for forwarding to London, *ibid*, I, 483.

<sup>13</sup>*R. I. C. R.*, I, 490-91, from *J. C. B. Transcripts*, 1608-66, No. 31.

<sup>14</sup>"This his Majesty's grant was startled at by his Majesty's high officers of state, who were to view it in course before the sealing, but, fearing the lion's roaring, they crouched, against their wills, in obedience to his Majesty's pleasure." Roger Williams to Major Mason, June 22, 1670, *Narragansett Club Publications* (Providence, 1867-74), VI, 346.

Underlying the references to a desire for liberty of conscience as the special aim of the Colony, there is, in both petitions, a particular emphasis on the declaration that the code of laws adopted in 1647 is "so neare the laws of England, as the nature and constitution of the place would admitt."<sup>15</sup> If the influence of Samuell Gorton cannot be traced directly in the terms of this code, nevertheless its spirit conforms to his well-known devotion to the English common law.

But the influence of the treaty of subjection is quite apparent, though it appears to have escaped the attention of other writers. Arnold states correctly that one of the reasons for granting the charter is that the petitioners "are seized and possessed by purchase and consent of the said natives to their full content, of such lands, islands,"&c, and that this clause is a recognition of Roger Williams' doctrine that the paramount title was in the natives, "and the right, first obtained from them by purchase, was only confirmed by patent from the crown."<sup>16</sup> This is unquestionably one legal basis for the charter.

Arnold, however, overlooks the other legal base on which the charter rests: the treaty of subjection of the Narragansett Sachems, referred to in the clause stating that the people of Rhode Island had "by neare neighbourhoode to and friendlie societie with the greate bodie of the Narragansett Indians, given them encouragement, *of their owne accorde, to subject themselves, their people and landes, unto us*; whereby, as is hoped, there may, in due tyme, by the blessing of God upon their endeavours, bee layd a sure foundation of happinesse to all America . . ."<sup>17</sup>

Another direct reference to the treaty appears in the clause making it unlawful "to invade or molest the native Indians, or any other inhabitants, inhabiting within the bounds and lymits hereafter mentioned (*they having sub-*

<sup>15</sup> *R. I. C. R.*, I, 487, there are three distinct references to the laws of England.

<sup>16</sup> Arnold, I, 290-92.

<sup>17</sup> *Italics mine*; *R. I. C. R.*, II, 4.



*jected themselves unto us*, and being by us taken into our special protection), without the knowledge and consent of the Governour and Company of our Collony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations."<sup>18</sup>

It is unnecessary to labor the point. In the opinion of the writer at least, the treaty of submission is one of the legal bases for the Charter of 1663. It is significant to note that there is no reference whatever in the Charter to the Patent procured by Roger Williams in 1643/44.

Not content with the embodiment of the substance of the submission in the words of the Charter, it was deemed advisable to reenact the ceremony of subjection. On November 26, 1663, two days after the receipt of the Charter, the surviving Sachems Quissuckquansh and Nineganitt, at a meeting of the Governor and Council, owned that "they did submit themselves unto his Majesty's Royall father, by a writinge under their hands about nineteene years ago [1644]; and they are now come to know what answer his Majesty is pleased to returne them. . . . The aforesayd submission sent by Mr. Gorton, being read in this meeting, and shewed to the sayd Sachems, they owned it their act."<sup>19</sup> Also they declared themselves to be subjects of Charles II. By these acts the Sachems sealed the Charter of 1663 and further buttressed Rhode Island's independence.

Subsequent events often reveal the true significance of movements previously obscure. In 1643 Lieutenant Humphrey Atherton was a leader of the Massachusetts expedition which invaded Shawomet and carried off the Gortonists as prisoners to Boston. The reason advanced for this indefensible aggression was that the Gortonists "were blasphemous enemies of the true religion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of all His holy ordinances, and likewise of all civil government among His people, and particularly within this jurisdiction."<sup>20</sup> But the real purpose was to exterminate

<sup>18</sup> *Italics mine. R. I. C. R.*, II, 15.

<sup>19</sup> *R. I. C. R.*, I, 512.

<sup>20</sup> *Winthrop's Journal* (Boston, 1853. Savage ed.), II, 176.

the Gortonists, and obtain an outlet on Narragansett Bay.<sup>21</sup> If anyone had doubts of the real purpose they were soon resolved when Atherton, now a major, appeared with Governor John Winthrop of Connecticut at the head of a land company which, in 1659, purchased Quidnesset and Namcook (Boston) Neck from Coginaquand, Chief Sachem of the Narragansetts.<sup>22</sup>

By making these purchases the Atherton Company flouted the act of the General Assembly of November 21, 1658, forbidding any further purchases "of lands or Islands from the Indians within the precincts of this Collony, butt such only as are soe alowed to doe, and ordered therein by an express order of a court of commissioners . . ."<sup>23</sup>

Letters of protest were ordered to be sent to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, the General Court of Massachusetts and "Majorr Atherton and others joined with him, concerninge severall purchases of lands made in our collony contrary to law by severall of the Massachusetts and others."<sup>24</sup>

Another attempt was made eighteen months later (May, 1661), the committee writing: "We doe desire that all rationall, manly and civill information and respecte be used so as the matter may be fayrly scanned and ended, if it may be . . ."<sup>25</sup> But all to no avail, Atherton continued to pursue his illegal course.

Thus began a series of encroachments which kept Rhode Island in a state of siege for upwards of three quarters of a

<sup>21</sup> "Simplicities Defense," *R. I. H. S. Coll.*, II, 52-150; Winthrop, II, 102, 163-77; W. G. Roelker, *Massachusetts' War with Samuell Gorton* (R. I. Pendulum, 1942), 4-7; *Cf. Andrews*, II, 15, Note 2.

<sup>22</sup> There were two purchases: one, June 17, 1659, is found in *R. I. C. R.*, I, 464, transcribed from *J. C. B. Transcripts*, 1618-1666, No. 18. The second is found in *R. I. C. R.*, III, 227 and bears the date July 4, 1687; it is transcribed from *J. C. B. Transcripts*, 1682-1689, No. 233, where it is dated 1687. But in *The Narragansett Mortgage*, Publication No. 19 (1925), Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, the date is given as July 4, 1659, though the source is *R. I. C. R.*, III, 227. Arnold places both purchases in 1659, see I, 272.

<sup>23</sup> *R. I. C. R.*, I, 403-404; *Cf.* 401.

<sup>24</sup> *R. I. C. R.*, I, 421, Aug. 23, 1659.

<sup>25</sup> *R. I. C. R.*, I, 438.

century, or until February 8, 1726.<sup>26</sup> During this long siege the most dependable weapon for the defence was the treaty of subjection by the Narragansett Sachems.

Claims and counter claims created a confusion which it is beyond the scope of this paper to unravel. Suffice it to say that by 1664 the situation became so embroiled that the King felt compelled to instruct a royal commission which he was sending to America to find a solution.

The Commission, consisting of Colonel Richard Nichols, Sir Robert Carr, Colonel George Cartwright and Mr. Samuel Maverick, appears to have been well informed about the dispute over the Narragansett country. At the time of their appointment, the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor, had received the letter of April 4, 1662 from Gorton, John Wickes and Randall Houlden acting as trustees for the Sachems. This letter enclosed a copy of the treaty of submission.<sup>27</sup> He was probably familiar with *Simplicities Defence*, also.

Sitting at Pettaquamscut, March 20, 1664/65, and after reviewing all the facts the Commissioners reached a decision which is summed up in their report to the King of December, 1665.

The Nanhygansetts sachims did in the year 1644, by writing, surrender themselves, their people and country into the late King's protection. Two of which sachims, now living [Quissuckquansh and Nineganitt], did actually in their owne persons surrender themselves, people, and country into his Royall Majesties protection, before his Commissioners, and delivered to them that very deed made in 1644, which had been carefully kept by Mr. Gorton, ettc. Whereupon, the Commissioners, according to their instructions, entered upon the country in his Majestie's name, and have named it the King's Province, have taken the natives into his Majesties pro-

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<sup>26</sup> R. I. C. R., IV, 370-73, from J. C. B. *Transcripts*, 1705-35, No. [559].

<sup>27</sup> After the restoration of Charles II Gorton sent a summarized version of *Simplicities Defence* in the form of a letter of April 4th, 1662, to Lord Chancellor Hyde and enclosed a copy of the act of submission by the Narragansett Sachems, April 19, 1644.

The following passage describes the events pertinent to this study: "Now in these transactions before our Release it was bruited amonge these Indians of whom we had purchased our plantation, that we could not escape with our lives, for the massachusets

tection, and have appointed Justices of the Peace [Benedict Arnold, William Brenton, Esquires, John Coggeshall, James Barker, Joseph Clarke, William Feild, Thomas Olney, Robert Williams, William Baulston, John Sanford, Randall Howlden, Walter Todd, John Porter, and John Greene, gentlemen]<sup>28</sup> to govern it, untill his Majesties pleasure be further knowne; for this Nanhygansett country is almost all the land belonging to this Colony, which cannot subsist without it, and therefore the Commissioners ordered that the magistrates for the Colony should be justices of the peace for the King's Province, that no difference may rise betwixt the officers.

The sachims did thankfully receive two coates presented to them in his Majesties name. In acknowledgement of their subjection, they are to pay yearly upon the 29th of May two wolfe skinnes to his Majestic, and did now send two capps of peag, and two clubbs inlayd with peag for a present to the King, and a feather mantle, and a porcupine bagg for a present to the Queene, which were all taken by the Dutch.<sup>29</sup>

Thus the treaty of subjection of the Narragansett Sachems received official recognition as the basis of Rhode Island's title to the Narragansett country. Samuëll Gorton had indeed made a master stroke.

would Certainly put us to death, whereuppon they wondred, that we escaped with lif[e] though thus evilly intreated, And when they understood that we professed the massachusetts to be subjects and servants to that mighty Sachim, and potent prince In ould England, as well as our selves, And that our acknowledgment of the eminencie and Royaltie of his person[,] Justice of his lawes, together with his Sufferaigntie over all the English in these parts, had Saved our lives, so as they might not take them away wrongfully, The Sachims above sayd forthwith Called an assembly, Sate in Counsell, gatheringe together a multitude of their people, to make over themselves and lands, makeinge Choice of us, in the Solemnizinge of their act, as in the enclosed [copy of the treaty of submission], wheruppon we undertook a voyage for England . . . with full Resolution, to discharge our dutie in the trust Comitted by the Sachims, And to become most humble petitioners to our Sufferaigne which then was, for his gratiouse order, in the Redresse, and reparations of wrongs don unto us, and our great losses, But beinge it was in the midst of those troublouse tymes, in the unhapie wars, we Could not find a way of access unto his majestie, only we procured this act don by the Indians to be put in print for publik vew, In a small treatise intituled *Simplicities Defence*, with letters sent to the Government of the massachusetts is more amply declared, which they Can never Contradict in the least . . ."

The above is transcribed from the original Letter From the Commis<sup>rs</sup> [Samuëll Gorton, John Wickes and Randall Holden] of the Chief Sachems, in America, to the LdChancellor Hyde, Complaining of Ille Treatment from the People of Massachusets from the original in John Carter Brown Library, Roelker, *op. cit.* and in a slightly variant form as *Gorton's Letter to Lord Hyde*, Publication No. 23, (1930), Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

<sup>28</sup> *R. I. C. R.*, II, 93-94.

<sup>29</sup> *R. I. C. R.*, II, 127-28, from *J. C. B. Transcripts*, 1618-66, No. 63.

## The Scott Family Needle Work

by RICHARD LeBARON BOWEN\*

Of all the early Rhode Island needle work that has come down to us from the middle of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, Elizabeth Scott, of Newport, Rhode Island, has left more examples of her handiwork than is recorded in any other New England family. One piece is now 201 years old, others are 182 and 134 years old.

Richard Scott came to Providence about 1637 and died there about 1680. Shortly after 1700 his grandson John,<sup>a</sup> the head of the Scott family, left Providence and settled at Newport where the records of this main line of the family are found.<sup>a</sup>

Elizabeth<sup>b</sup> Scott, Richard Scott's great-great-granddaughter, made a sampler at Newport in 1741 when she was six years old, and embroidered the Scott Arms, quarterly of eight,<sup>b</sup> about 1760. Shortly after 1800 she made an embroidered Memorial<sup>b</sup> to her nephew and his wife John Cookson<sup>c</sup> and Martha Scott. Her grandniece, and pupil, Sarah Cookson<sup>c</sup> (Scott) DeBlois, Richard Scott's great-great-great-great-granddaughter (about 1825) made a finely detailed piece of embroidery entitled "The Fisherman's Return at Sunset." These four pieces have been care-

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a. For genealogy of this line see "The Arms of Richard Scott," by Richard LeBaron Bowen, *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, vol. XCVI (1942), pp. 8-27.

b. Later research shows clearly that the Scott Arms, and the Memorial to John Cookson<sup>c</sup> Scott and his wife Martha, were embroidered by Elizabeth<sup>b</sup> Scott, and could not have been done by her grandniece, Elizabeth,<sup>c</sup> as stated in *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, vol. XCVI (1942), p. 18.

fully handed down in the family, and to-day, two hundred and one years after the first piece was made, are all together in the possession of Mrs. Lillian<sup>r</sup> (DeBlois) Fox<sup>c</sup> of Rehoboth, Massachusetts, a Richard Scott descendant in the tenth generation. So much is known about the makers of this needle work, and the families of its various owners down through the years, that these pieces of embroidery might properly be called "pedigreed."

Besides their importance as examples of colonial art, pieces of needlework are often the only surviving record of the little girls and young women who made them, and of genealogical data not available in any other place.

\* \* \*

In early Colonial days it seems to have been true that "girls were never considered worth educating, except in the *graces*," and it seems to have been equally true that boys must be educated, as shown by the growth of Grammar Schools, Latin Schools and Colleges. This inequality in education is best shown in early deeds, where, the husband attached his signature and his wife often signed by making a mark. There is little or no record of the very early education of girls at Newport, or, for that matter, in the State of Rhode Island. There seems no doubt that throughout this early period girls were entirely dependent for education on the early "Dame School" and the later "Finishing School." The Dame Schools were schools for small children, kept mainly in kitchens, and no records of them are extant. The Finishing Schools came later, and of these we do have some records. Nearly all the early existing samplers, and other examples of embroidery, which have survived, were probably made in these early schools where girls were chiefly taught needle work.

Rhode Island samplers dated prior to 1800 are comparatively rare, and there are very few dated previous to 1750. In 1920, the Rhode Island Historical Society held a Loan

c. Mrs. Frank B. Fox.

Exhibition<sup>d</sup> of some 334 Eighteenth and Nineteenth century samplers, and Mrs. T. I. Hare Powel, President of the Colonial Dames of Rhode Island, contributed to the National Society descriptions of all the samplers on exhibit, which were afterwards incorporated in *American Samplers*,<sup>e</sup> a standard authority on the subject. None of the Scott needle work was in this exhibition.

Among the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth century samplers exhibited, many gave the name of the maker and the date, and though the name of the place where it was made is not usually given on the samplers, over forty gave the place name, including: R. I. Colony, Providence, Cranston, Smithfield, Coventry, Warwick, Portsmouth, Little Compton, Bristol, New Eng., and Warren in Rhode Island, and Rehoboth, Swansea, and Dighton in Massachusetts.

The writer has found no Rhode Island samplers previous to 1750 with the name of the town where it was made in addition to the name of the maker and the date. Consequently, the only way of determining the town and state where the sampler was made is through the genealogy of the maker.

\* \* \*

While the subject of this article is the needle work of the Scott women, it is of interest, and perhaps will not be out of place, to mention briefly other known Newport needle work.

Of the 934 Eighteenth century samplers listed in *American Samplers*, only three (before 1750) are assigned to Newport, R. I. These three (with two more classified by the writer) are as follows:

(NO. 1)

"MARY CLASSEN, 1725; [Newport, R. I.] 7 yrs.; 10" x 17"; 2 alphabets; cross, satin and cat-stitch; carnation, tre-

d. *R. I. Hist. Soc. Collections*, vol. VIII (1920), No. 2, pp. 41-5.

e. *American Samplers*, by Ethel Stanwood Bolton and Eva Johnson Coe, pub. by Massachusetts Society of Colonial Dames of America, 1921. Hereafter referred to as *American Samplers*.

foil and Greek fret borders; birds and flowers at bottom;  
Verse:

'Lord give me Wisdom to Direct My Ways,  
I beg not riches nor yet length of days.'"

[*American Samplers*, p. 38].

This name is undoubtedly "Closson," and is not an early Newport name, but is found at this date at Tiverton, (eight miles distant) and at Little Compton, (eleven miles distant) both in Rhode Island. A Mary Closson was born at Tiverton, 7 April 1717, daughter of Jeremiah and Elizabeth Closson. She would have been the right age to make this sampler, and fits in better than a Mary Closson who was born at Little Compton in 1716. If the parents of Mary Closson lived at Newport, in 1725, there seems to be no record surviving.

(NO. 2)

"ELIZABETH CHASE, 10 yrs.; 21" x 8"; 2 alphabets;  
chain and cross-stitch; verse:

'Lord give me wisdom to Direct my ways,  
I beg not riches nor yet length of days.'"

[*American Samplers*, p. 136].

This sampler, loaned by Mrs. Daniel Beckwith, is listed in *American Samplers* as of 1800-30, a century too late, as it was undoubtedly made at Newport in 1730 by the Elizabeth Chase who was born at Newport, 10 March 1719-20, daughter of John and Anne Chase.

(NO. 3)

"SARAH BAILEY, 1738; 11<sup>f</sup> yrs.; 8" x 16"; 3 alphabets;  
cross and queen-stitch; conventional border; rose and carnation, queen-stitch strawberries; verse:

'It is no wonder that men turn to Clay  
When Rocks & Stones and monuments decay.'"

[*American Samplers*, p. 31].

This sampler, in the cabinet of the Newport Historical Society, was clearly made by Sarah, the daughter of Samuel and Alice Bailey, born (14 February 1727)<sup>f</sup> at Middletown,

f. Not 10 years old as stated in *American Samplers*, p. 31.

g. *Middletown Vital Records*, p. 32.



(a town in the "middle" of the island of Rhode Island), which was not set off from Newport until 16 June 1743. Her name, Sarah, probably shows that she was a descendant of Wm. Bailey who settled at Newport (1655) as four of his five sons had daughters by that name.<sup>h</sup> The center motif is the same as that on the sampler (No. 4) made by Elizabeth<sup>5</sup> Scott<sup>i</sup> in 1741, with the exception of the small trees and bird in corners, was undoubtedly made under the same teacher. The Newport Historical Society also has another unnamed and undated sampler, 7" x 11", with the same center motif.

(no. 5)

"SARAH GIBBS, 1749, [Newport, R. I.]; 11 yrs.; 2 alphabets; satin and cross-stitch; trefoil border, carnation cross borders; elaborate carnation and tulip design in centre; verse, appearing as clearly as 1730:

'Oh Love the Lord and He will be,  
A Tender (faithful) Father unto Thee' "

[*American Samplers*, p. 47].

This sampler was undoubtedly made by the Sarah Gibbs, born at Newport, 4 January 173-, daughter of George and Hannah Gibbs.

From the above list it will be seen that the oldest known Newport samplers are in order as follows:

1730 — Elizabeth Chase, 10 years old.

1738 — Sarah Bailey, 11 years old.

1741 — Elizabeth Scott, 6 years old.

1749 — Sarah Gibbs, 11 years old.

The sampler made by Mary Closson in 1725 is evidently not a Newport sampler. However, it is the oldest known recorded Rhode Island sampler.

It is interesting to note that the Closson (1725) and the Chase (1730) samplers have the same two lines of verse; that the Scott 1741 sampler has the first line of the same verse, and that these two lines appear on none of the other

h. *Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island*, Austin, p. 9.

i. Elizabeth Scott, 1741; 6 yrs. old, not 5 years old as stated in *American Samplers*, p. 74.

2485 eighteenth and nineteenth century samplers recorded in *American Samplers*. This would seem to indicate the influence of the same local Newport school, or teacher.

SCOTT SAMPLER, NO. 4



SAMPLER MADE AT NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND, 29 JULY 1741,  
BY ELIZABETH SCOTT, GREAT-GREAT-GRANDDAUGHTER OF  
RICHARD SCOTT OF PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND.

The first, and oldest example of Scott needle work, is the sampler made at Newport by Elizabeth Scott, 29 July 1741. She was the daughter<sup>j</sup> of GEORGE<sup>k</sup> SCOTT (*John<sup>s</sup>, John<sup>2</sup>, Richard<sup>1</sup>*) and was baptized at Trinity Church, Newport, 11 June 1735, so she was just a few days over six<sup>k</sup> years of age when she finished the sampler. She died unmarried at Newport, 4 January 1809, age 73 yrs.<sup>l</sup> Her grandmother, Elizabeth (Wanton) Scott, first used the Scott seal on a deed in 1712.<sup>m</sup>

This sampler, here illustrated, is made on the customary brown colored linen, sheeting weave, of a count of 32 x 42 threads per square inch. It has hemmed edges, and it is 8½ inches wide by 10¼ inches long. It has a vine border separated from the main body of the sampler with a line in light blue cross-stitch. The top panel has five rose buds, of which four are blue and yellow, and one red and yellow. The four petals of the rose are in satin-stitch, outlined with cross-stitch. The roses are separated by a dividing line design. Then there are three lines of the cross-stitch, above, between and below two lines of verse. The top line is yellow and red, the middle line is blue, and the bottom is red. The verse is broken into two lines: "LORD GIVE ME WISDOM TO DIRECT MY WAYS." The words are in yellow, dark blue, light blue and red. In the main panel are carnations on either side of an open rose, with rose buds on the ends. A tree is in one corner, and a bird and tree in the other, both done in cross and satin-stitches. There are three cross-stitch lines, in blue, yellow and blue, between which are the lines: "ELIZABETH SCOT IS My NAME WITH My NEEDLE I WROUGHT THE SAME." Below the light blue lines are the words: "IN The 6 YEARS OF MY AGE JULY THE 29 1741."

This 1741 sampler descended from Elizabeth<sup>s</sup> Scott to Mary Smith<sup>7</sup> (Scott) Hunter; to her nephew Capt. John Scott<sup>5</sup> DeBlois; to his brother Edward Thatcher<sup>5</sup> DeBlois; to his son John Edward<sup>6</sup> DeBlois; to his daughter, Mrs. Lillian<sup>7</sup> (DeBlois) Fox, the present and sixth owner, through five generations, in two hundred and one years.

j. See "The Arms of Richard Scott," by Richard LeBaron Bowen, *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, vol. XCVI (1942), p. 15.

k. Not 5 years as stated in *American Samplers*, p. 74.

l. *Trinity Church Record*.

m. See "The Arms of Richard Scott," by Richard LeBaron Bowen, *R. I. Hist. Soc. Collections*, vol. XXXII, No. 3, July, 1939.

## EMBROIDERED SCOTT ARMS

"It is strange that the custom of embroidering arms seems to have been limited to New England. So far [1921] none have been found without its bounds, and the period



EMBROIDERED SCOTT ARMS, QUARTERLY OF EIGHT, MADE AT NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND, ABOUT 1760, BY ELIZABETH SCOTT, GREAT-GREAT-GRANDDAUGHTER OF RICHARD SCOTT OF PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND, FROM A PAINTING MADE ON VELLUM IN ENGLAND, ABOUT 1608, FOR HIS FATHER EDWARD SCOTT.

from 1750 to 1770 was by far the most prolific".<sup>n</sup> This was the period in New England when arms were generally appropriated with little or no regard to the right of the family to bear arms. The *American Samplers* lists thirty-nine embroidered arms and hatchments, but records none for Rhode Island.

About 1760 Elizabeth Scott embroidered the "SCOTS ARMS," quarterly of eight, here illustrated, spelling Scott with one "t" just as she did on her sampler (1741). This is the second oldest piece of Scott needle work, and is also the only known embroidered coat-of-arms of a Rhode Island family, although the writer knows of a Rhode Island family hatchment, dated about 1800. When Elizabeth Scott decided to embroider the Scott Arms, she had as a pattern to copy, the family quartered Arms of Edward Scott<sup>o</sup> (the elder, clothier) of Glemsford, co. Suffolk, England, father of her great-great-grandfather, Richard Scott of Providence. This was painted in colors for Edward in England, about 1608, on a heavy membrane of vellum 17½ inches wide by 19½ inches high. The escutcheon is 3¾ inches wide by 4½ inches high, on which are the Scott Arms, quarterly of eight, as follows:

1. SCOTT. *Argent three catherine wheels sable a bordure engrailed gules.*
2. BEAUFITZ. *Argent a saltire engrailed gules between four Cornish choughs sable beaked and legged gules.*
3. PYMPE. *Barry of six gules and argent a chief vair.*
4. PASHLEY. *Purpure a lion rampant or crowned or.*
5. SERIEULX. *Argent a saltire sable between twelve cherries gules stalked vert.*
6. NORMANVILLE. *Argent on a fess double-cotised gules three fleurs-de-lis argent.*
7. GOWER. *Gules a fess between six crosses patee fichée argent.*
8. SCOTT. *As the first.*

n. *American Samplers*, p. 401.

o. For Heraldry see "The Arms of Richard Scott," by Richard LeBaron Bowen, *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, vol. XCVI (1942), pp. 6-8, 20-26. The frontispiece of this Register is a photographic reproduction of these arms in color.

The Scott Arms, quarterly, of eight, are embroidered over a full size tracing made of the arms painted in England, and are worked on a heavy piece of striped silk, sateen weave, laced over a pine embroidery frame 16" x 13". This pine frame is made of strips of wood 1½" by 5/16", halved and pinned together with a series of holes ½" from the outside edge, and spaced ½" apart, through which silk lacings are passed to hold the silk taut.

Above the escutcheon is a helm, the back part of which is shaded *vert*, with visor and edges *or*. The wreath is *argent* and *sable*, out of which rises the crest: a *demi-griffin wings elevated sable beaked and legged or*. This same Scott crest is given in a descent entered in the 1st Visitation of Kent, 1530/1, commencing with Sir John Scott, of Smeath, who married Anne Pympe.

On the crest, and in the center of the escutcheon, is a crescent *or* on which is a mullet *gules*, the marks of cadency used to indicate the various branches, or cadets, of a family, indicating the third son of the second son.

The arms, helm, crest and mantling, are outlined in black silk thread in the long-stitch. The argent fields and argent charges of the different coats are embroidered. The Pashley and Gower fields are in satin-stitch, as are the heavy colored charges on all of the coats except the rampant lion on the Pashley coat. The body of the griffin, the helm and mantling, are in satin-stitch. Gold metal covered silk is used on the griffin's claws and beak of the crest; on the visor and the trimmings of the helm; on the lower tassels of the mantling, and on the rampant lion of the Pashley coat. This gold covered silk was laid lengthwise and couch-stitched with yellow silk, which has now faded to a light cream color. A buffian-stitch is used on the griffin's legs.

The field on the Pashley arms is shown as a yellowish green, which was as near as Elizabeth could interpret the brownish color to which the original purple on the parchment painting had faded.

The sunlight has bleached the original bright colors of

the embroidered silk, especially the reds, which have faded to a light russet. The gold metal covered silk has tarnished in places to almost a black. The silk thread on the back of the arms, away from the sunlight, still shows the original bright colors.

The arms are faithfully reproduced in silk, even to the marks of cadency. The only slip in copying was that five of the six catherine wheels in the Scott coats have five spokes instead of six, which, of course, is of no importance.

This embroidery is framed under glass on which is painted a 15/8" black border with two gold leaf bands. On the black border, at the bottom of the picture, is printed in gold leaf letters, "SCOT'S ARMS." At some time the gold leaf frame was painted over with a black jap-o-lack paint, and at a later date this was partly washed off on the right hand side and the bottom of the frame, as can be seen in the illustration.

The embroidered Scott Arms of 1760 was given by Elizabeth<sup>b</sup> Scott to John Cookson<sup>b</sup> Scott; to Mary Smith<sup>r</sup> (Scott) Hunter; to John Scott<sup>b</sup> DeBlois; to Edward Thatcher<sup>b</sup> DeBlois; to John Edward<sup>b</sup> DeBlois; to Lillian<sup>r</sup> (DeBlois) Fox, the present, and seventh owner, in six generations, in one hundred eighty four years.

*(To be continued)*

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WANTED: City Directories, Tax Books, Records of Religious and Social Organizations. All issues of *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections* and *Rhode Island History*, especially January 1930, April and July, 1942.

# The Development of The Neck

## A Chronicle of the East Side of Providence

by JOHN HUTCHINS CADY, F.A.I.A.

*This is the first installment, in condensed form, of an unpublished history entitled "The Civic and Architectural Development of Providence". Other installments will appear from time to time.*

### CHAPTER I. 1636-1676

Early in the year 1636 Roger Williams, an exile from Salem, started on a pilgrimage to found a colony that would be free from religious control. Accompanied by four companions he steered his course in a southeasterly direction across country, through snow and ice, arriving in April at a spot on the shore of Ten Mile river near its confluence with Seekonk river.<sup>1</sup> Several weeks were spent there, during which time the group was increased by a few new arrivals.

Roger Williams apparently did not realize at first that he still was on soil of the Plymouth Colony whose bounds extended westerly to the Seekonk river.<sup>2</sup> That fact was made known to him by Governor Winslow of Plymouth who advised him to remove to the other side of the water where the country was free from any English claims or patents.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, on a day in the early summer of 1636, Williams started on a scouting expedition with Thomas Angell, one of his followers, to seek another spot.

<sup>1</sup> Howard M. Chapin, *Documentary History of Rhode Island* (Providence, 1916-19), hereafter *Doc. Hist.*, I, pp. 11-16. The town of East Providence, in which the settlement was located, became a part of Rhode Island by an exchange of territory with the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1862. The spot, near Omega pond in Phillipsdale, was acquired by the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations Tercentenary Committee in 1936, and is marked by a tablet.

<sup>2</sup> Isaac Backus: *A History of New England*, 1777, I, 72.

<sup>3</sup> The bounds, according to the Plymouth patent of 1622, were "one-half of the river called Narragansetts," interpreted to mean the present Seekonk and Providence rivers, Narragansett bay and Sakonnet river.



They proceeded in a canoe down Seekonk river, paused on the opposite shore at Slate Rock to receive the greeting "What cheare Netop"<sup>4</sup> from a group of Indians, rounded Fox Point, swung north on Great Salt river,<sup>5</sup> passed through the narrows where Weybosset Point projected from the westerly shore,<sup>6</sup> entered a tidewater cove into which Moshassuck river flowed from the north and Woonasquatucket river from the west, and landed on the east shore near a fresh water spring<sup>7</sup>.

Roger Williams surveyed the neck of land which he had skirted. A hill rose sharply, east of the spring, to a height of two hundred feet. The descent to the east and south was more gradual. Thick forests covered most of the territory, with swamps at the lower levels.<sup>8</sup> A brook flowed southerly through the neck, curving westerly near its mouth to discharge into Mile End cove.<sup>9</sup> Between the bend of the brook and the southerly shore of the neck Foxes Hill rose to a height of about 40 feet.<sup>10</sup> A graveley beach extended from

<sup>4</sup> Roger Williams: *Key into the Language of America* (London, 1643), p. 2. Slate Rock was buried to a depth of about 20 feet during re-grading operations in 1878. A monument, erected 1906 by the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers, on Roger Williams Square at Gano and Power streets, marks the spot.

<sup>5</sup> Providence river, upper harbor.

<sup>6</sup> Weybosset Point was located about where Westminster Street commences.

<sup>7</sup> The spring site, located at the corner of North Main Street and Alamo Lane, was presented to the city in 1930 by Judge J. Jerome Hahn. A park was established there and a well curb, designed by Norman M. Isham, was erected within which the spring still flows.

<sup>8</sup> The Great Swamp covered most of the present area of Providence east of Hope Street and north of Doyle Avenue; Cat Swamp was farther south, centering, approximately, at the intersection of Lloyd and Elmgrove avenues.

<sup>9</sup> The brook, for most of its course, followed the line of Brook Street; Mile End cove was located where Bridge Street leads to Point Street bridge.

<sup>10</sup> A fort was established on Foxes Hill during the Revolution, later replaced by a resort known as Fox Point Observatory; the hill was leveled, 1875.

Fox Point northerly to the mouth of Moshassuck river.<sup>11</sup>

Having determined that the region was well adapted for a settlement Williams negotiated a purchase of land from the Narragansett sachems Canonicus and Miantonomi. Shortly afterwards he and his followers abandoned their former settlement by Ten Mile river, moved over to the spring, and there planted the town of Providence. A clearing was made at the foot of the hillside, near the spring, where shelters were put up for habitations until the settlers were able to construct more permanent dwellings.

The purchase from the Indians was confirmed in a deed to Roger Williams executed in March, 1637.<sup>12</sup> The territory acquired included the lands west of Seekonk river and the Great Salt river into which it flowed, its other bounds extending from the river and fields at Pawtucket southwesterly to Neutaconkanut Hill and then southeasterly to Pawtuxet river.

The neck of land between Seekonk river on the east and the Great Salt river, the Cove, and Moshassuck river on the west, extending southerly to Fox Point, was called Moshassuck by the Indians. The settlers re-named it the Neck to distinguish it from the other lands of Providence; it is now known as the East Side.

As new arrivals joined the colony Roger Williams determined to share with his "loving friends and neighbors" the lands which he had received from the Indians and his agreement to that effect was confirmed in a deed executed, October 8, 1638, by himself and 12 others by which, for a consideration of £30 payable to him by the inhabitants, they and such others as should later be admitted to fellowship were granted equal rights in the territory.<sup>13</sup> The bounds of the colony were considerably extended by later conveyances

<sup>11</sup> South Water and Canal streets follow the original shore line. The mouth of Moshassuck river was at Smith Street.

<sup>12</sup> *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England*, John Russell Bartlett, ed. (Providence, 1856-65), hereafter *R. I. C. R.*, I, 18.

<sup>13</sup> *R. I. C. R.*, I, 19.

from the Indians. To each person admitted to fellowship there was allotted a home lot, a 6-acre lot for planting, an extent of meadow or pasture land for cattle, and a tract of wood land, to an aggregate area of about 100 acres.

Not all of the residents of the town were admitted immediately to fellowship. Some time between 1638 and 1640 a civil compact was drawn up and signed by 12 members of the colony by which they promised "active or passive obedience in civill things" without land grants;<sup>14</sup> and in 1645 an agreement was signed by 29 persons who were granted 25 acres of land apiece without voting rights.<sup>15</sup>

In 1640 a document known as the "Combination" was executed, setting up a form of government for the colony. It was signed by 29 voters enfranchised at the time of its execution and subsequently by 9 others.<sup>16</sup>

Upon application by Roger Williams a patent of incorporation, uniting Providence with the colonies of Portsmouth and Newport, settled 1638 and 1639, respectively, was granted in 1644 by the Governor and Commissioners of His Majesty's subjects in America, acting under authority of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, and was adopted in 1647.<sup>17</sup> At the first "Generall Court of Election" held in that year Warwick was admitted to the colony.<sup>18</sup>

Within a year or two after Providence had been settled the Towne street<sup>19</sup> was laid out, following the shore for most of its length at an elevation of a few feet above tide-water and bearing away from the shore, up a hillside<sup>20</sup> near

<sup>14</sup> *The Early Records of the Town of Providence*, collected and printed by the Record Commissioners (Providence, 1892-1915), hereafter *E. R. P.*, I, 1.

<sup>15</sup> *E. R. P.*, II, 29.

<sup>16</sup> *R. I. C. R.*, I, 27; *Doc. Hist.*, p. 119.

<sup>17</sup> *R. I. C. R.*, I, 143-146.

<sup>18</sup> *R. I. C. R.*, I, 148.

<sup>19</sup> North and South Main streets.

<sup>20</sup> Constitution Hill.

its northern end; and a systematic division was made of the lands bordering the street to provide home lots for the settlers. The principal source of information with respect to the lots is contained in a manuscript prepared about 1645 by Chad Brown, John Throckmorton and Gregory Dexter, entitled "A revised List" (saving Correction, with Addition) of Lands and Meddows, As they were orriginally Lotted, ffrom the beginning of the Plantation of Providence . . ."<sup>21</sup> This manuscript gives a list of the owners of the home lots, 52 in number, as well as those of the agricultural and wood lands.

While no maps have been preserved which would indicate the precise location of the home lots, sufficient documentary evidence has been available to permit the approximate reconstruction of the original town pattern.<sup>22</sup> The home lots were laid out upon a section of the Neck now bounded, approximately, by North and South Main, Wickenden, Hope and Olney streets.<sup>23</sup> The 6-acre lots were located, some to the south and east of the home lots on the Neck, and others north of Woonasquatucket river. The meadow land and wood lots lay between Woonasquatucket and Pawtuxet rivers, extending from Providence river westerly to Olneyville.

The map facing page 26 shows the approximate location of the home lots, superimposed on the present highway pattern. The lots were in a row, each extending easterly from the Towne street (North and South Main) to the Highway at the Head of the Lots (Hope Street). The sequence of lots was interrupted by two lanes, also extend-

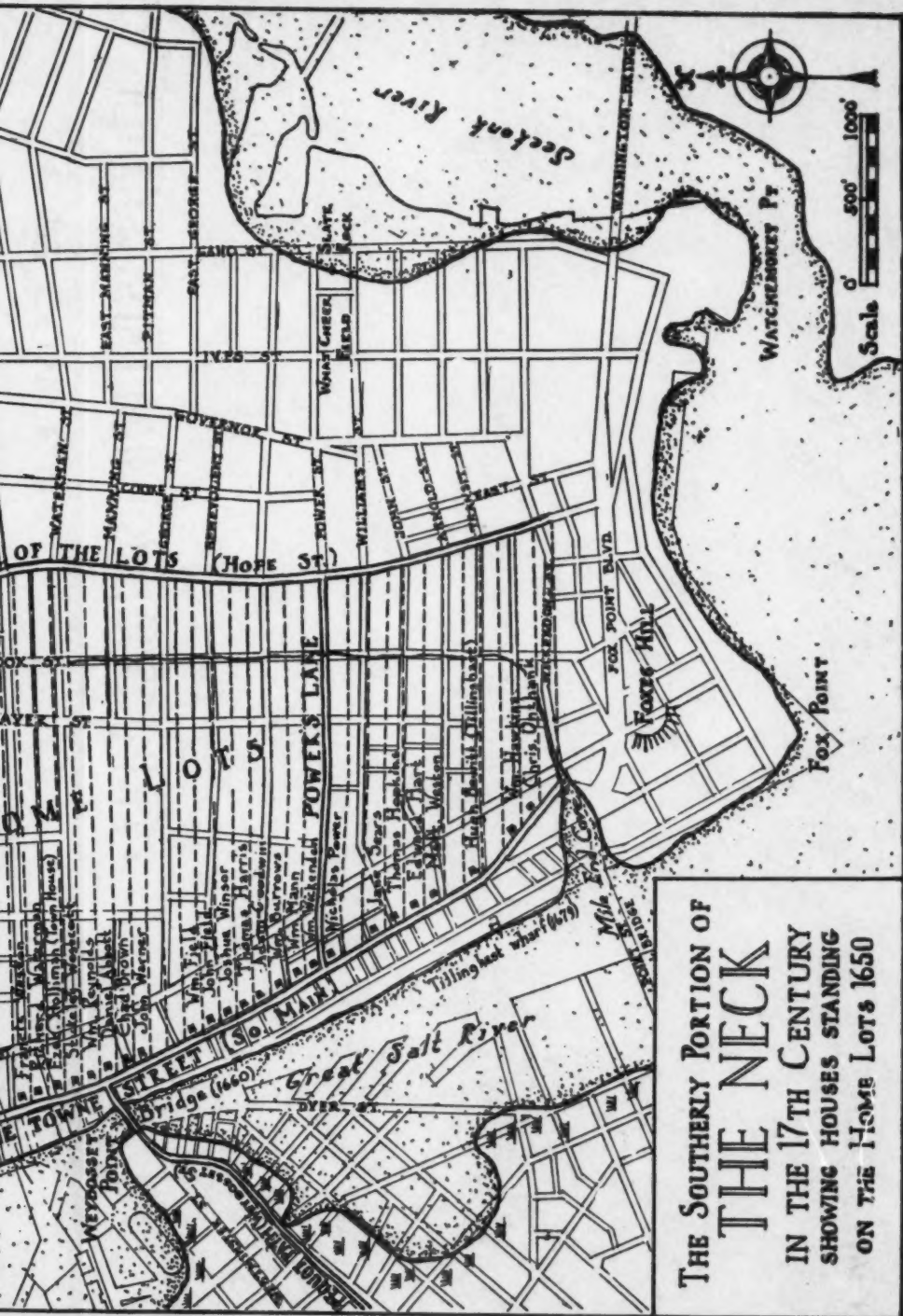
<sup>21</sup> The manuscript is in the office of the city clerk.

<sup>22</sup> Charles W. Hopkins: *The Home Lots of the Early Settlers* (Providence, 1886), hereafter Hopkins.

<sup>23</sup> Olney Street has generally been accepted as the northerly boundary of the lots. Actually it is about 100 feet north of the boundary, as proven by the allotment of land within the intervening area as part of the second division of lots in 1718 (Cady: "The Division of the Home Lots of Providence," *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections*, hereafter *R. I. H. S. C.*, 31, 101)."













ing from highway to highway; one is now Meeting Street, the other Power Street.<sup>24</sup> The lots varied in width from 100 to 135 feet, in length from 1600 to 3000 feet, and in area from  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to  $8\frac{1}{2}$  acres. It is probable that the longitudinal bounds of the lots originally were intended as straight parallel lines. Methods of surveying were rather crude in the early years of the colony, which may account for slight irregularities in the bounds, as revealed by later surveys.

How soon after their arrival the settlers commenced the erection of houses is unknown. Among the early settlers was William Carpenter, a skilled builder, formerly of Amesbury, Wiltshire, who probably brought tools with him and did not long delay in using them. At first only stone and raw forest products were available in the town for building purposes. There were limestone beds to the north and west, and a lime kiln was established in the settlement in 1648.<sup>25</sup> Tools and other building materials were transported by water, probably from Boston and New Amsterdam.

The early documents which have been preserved give very little information about the houses of the early period. Our knowledge of Providence dwellings is based largely upon measurements and analyses made of certain houses in Rhode Island which survived for 200 years or more. The Roger Mowry house (1653-1900) which stood on Abbott Street, one-half mile north of the home lots, was one of

<sup>24</sup> The identification of Hope Street as the original Highway at the Head of the Lots is proven by surveys of the present Meeting and Power Streets made 1731-38 (*E. R. P.*, IX, 59, 76). The courses were platted in poles, a measure of length varying from 16 to 18 feet. On the basis of a  $17\frac{1}{2}$  foot pole for Meeting Street and a  $16\frac{1}{2}$  foot pole for Power Street the total lengths of Meeting Street (177 poles) and Power Street (134 poles) as established from the Towne street to the Highway at the Head of the Lots 1731-38 agree with the present lengths of those streets from North and South Main, respectively, to Hope Street.

<sup>25</sup> *E. R. P.*, XV, 12.

these.<sup>26</sup> When the foundations of Roger Williams' house at the corner of North Main and Howland Streets were excavated in 1906 measurements made by Norman M. Isham strengthened his conviction that the early houses on the Towne street were like Mowry's.<sup>27</sup>



ROGER MOWRY HOUSE (1653)

Reproduced from *Early Rhode Island Houses* by Isham & Brown.

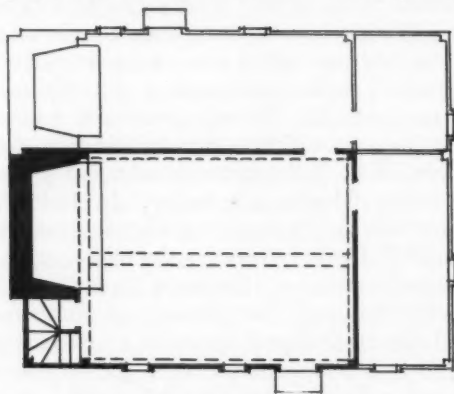
The typical house plan included a single room, or "hall" about 15 by 17 feet in area and about 6½ feet high, with a great stone fireplace at one end and a winding flight of stairs or a ladder leading to a chamber under the roof. The foundations were very shallow; where there was

<sup>26</sup> Isham & Brown: *Early Rhode Island Houses*, 1895 (hereafter *Early R. I. Houses*), p. 21.

<sup>27</sup> Norman M. Isham: "The House of Roger Williams," *R. I. H. S. C.*, XVIII, 33.

a cellar it consisted simply of a hole with sloping sides for the storage of vegetables, reached by a trap door in the floor or by an outside cellarway. As more rooms were needed additions were made by extending the house lengthwise, or building a leanto at the rear, or both.

This type of house, as exemplified by the Mowry house (page 28), was a story and a half high with a steep gable roof, clapboarded walls, casement windows, and a huge



TYPICAL 17TH CENTURY HOUSE PLAN

Showing its development from the early period (in black lines)  
to the later years of the century.

stone-end chimney. Somewhat Gothic in style, it reflects also a rural English precedent. British prototypes may still be seen in Wiltshire, from which county William Carpenter emigrated, and in Sussex and various east coast towns. The chimneys of those houses, however, were brick, a material not available in Rhode Island in the early period. The Providence houses were framed with oak sills, posts and girts, dovetailed together and secured by wooden pins, with a "summer beam" spanning the main ceiling from girt to girt, carrying the joists of the floor above.

Many New England villages were built around a large common or green on which the public buildings faced. The

topography of the area where Providence was settled was not appropriate for such a development and no public buildings were built until the last years of the 17th century. Town quarters were established from 1644 to 1647 in a dwelling erected by Ezekiel Holliman (page 32), the location of which is marked by a tablet at the street railway tunnel portal on North Main Street. Except during those years there was no permanent location for town meetings.

The earliest "civic center" grew up in the vicinity of the falls of the Moshassuck, a short distance north of the present Mill Street bridge, where the town grist mill was established in 1646.<sup>28</sup> John Smith, one of the original settlers, was a miller by trade. He was granted a home lot and erected a house on the Towne street just north of the present Cathedral of St. John, but soon sold that property and removed to the Moshassuck valley. In 1646 the town granted him "the valley wherein his house stands in case he set up a mill".<sup>29</sup> Upon its erection the mill became the center of the town's activities. On every second and third day of the week it was used "for grinding of the Corne of the Towne."<sup>30</sup> On other days it served as a place for informal gatherings by the townspeople and for occasional town meetings and religious services. The miller died about 1649 and was succeeded by his son John Smith, Jr.

There is evidence that some form of police protection was maintained by the town for, in the year 1649, it was "Ordered that our Constable shall have a staffe made him whereby he shall be knowne to have the authority of the Towne-Constable."<sup>31</sup> One of his duties undoubtedly was to enforce the liquor laws, it being ordered in 1650 "that if any man sell any Wine or strong Liquors in his house, he shall also entertaine strangers to bed & board, but any man

<sup>28</sup> Norman M. Isham: "The First Town Mill in Providence," *Publications of the R. I. Historical Society*, V, 192.

<sup>29</sup> *Rhode Island Land Evidences*, IV, 54.

<sup>30</sup> *E. R. P.*, II, 42.

<sup>31</sup> *E. R. P.*, II, 40.

shall have his liberty to sell without doores no man forbidding him.<sup>32</sup>

The town appropriated no funds for the maintenance of its highways in the early years. Instead it was ordered "that every man shall mend and make good the high way before his house Lot or Lots, within the Compasse of this neck, to that Carts may passe & repasse freely."<sup>33</sup> Later on every man was required to work on the highways three days a year and furnish teams and oxen.<sup>34</sup>

The tax rate recorded in 1650<sup>35</sup> indicated that 34 houses were standing on the home lots that year, as follows:<sup>36</sup>

Gregory Dexter, a former London printer, erected a house on the northernmost lot in 1644. He was town clerk at one time, served as president of Providence and Warwick 1653-54,<sup>37</sup> and was ordained pastor of the Baptists in 1654. Elder Pardon Tillinghast built at the head of Constitution Hill in 1649, on the lot originally granted to Thomas Painter, and moved later to the south end of the town. The original settlers built between the present Cady Street and the foot of Constitution Hill but Roger Williams, whose house is memorialized by a tablet on a building at 273 North Main Street, was the only one to remain there in residence; William Arnold and William Harris removed to Pawtuxet, John Smith moved to the Moshassuck Valley (page 30), Joshua Verin left the colony, and all sold their properties.

Between Cady and North Court streets were the Daniels and Sweet houses. Alice Daniels became the second wife of John Greene who joined the Pawtuxet colony, 1638; John

<sup>32</sup> *E. R. P.*, II, 45.

<sup>33</sup> *E. R. P.*, II, 44.

<sup>34</sup> *E. R. P.*, III, 62.

<sup>35</sup> *E. R. P.*, XV, 33.

<sup>36</sup> Sources of information: Hopkins; Chapin: "The Lands and Houses of the First Settlers," *R. I. H. S. C.*, XII, 1; John O. Austin: *Geneological Dictionary of Rhode Island* (Albany, 1887).

<sup>37</sup> The colony was disrupted 1651-1654, Portsmouth and Newport submitting to Gov. Coddington's rule, and Providence and Warwick carrying on the government in accordance with the patent of 1644.

Greene, Jr., later became owner of the Towne street property. John Sweet died and his house and land were acquired by Edward Manton. The house of Thomas Olney, the first town treasurer, stood where the railroad viaduct enters the tunnel. Francis Weston built on the site of the First Baptist Meeting House. He was one of the original Shawomet (Warwick) purchasers in 1643; his estate on the Towne street was purchased after his death in 1645 by Thomas Angell (page 22). Richard Waterman, who gave Waterman Street its name, built within the lines of that highway. Near the entrance to the street railway tunnel a house was built by Ezekiel Holliman, formerly of Hertford County, England, who baptized Roger Williams in 1639 and was immediately baptized by him. The property was purchased 1640 by Hugh Bewitt who sold it to the town ing 1644 (page 30) and repurchased it 1647.

On the next three lots extending southerly to the present College Street houses were built, respectively, by Stukeley Westcott, who removed to Shawomet and sold to Samuel Bennett; William Reynolds, who sold to Robert Williams; and Daniel Abbott, who died 1647 and whose property later was owned, successively, by Robert Morris, Robert Williams and Daniel Abbott, Jr. Within the bounds of College Street was the house of Chad Brown, a surveyor, who was ordained pastor of the Baptists in 1642.

John Warner built on the site of the present Providence County Court House and, on his removal to Warwick in 1642, the property passed to William Field and later to George Richards. Field erected a house<sup>38</sup> in 1647 near the site of the present 50 South Main Street; it was used from

<sup>38</sup> Later known as the Field Garrison House. "The old Garrison house and lot was, in 1772 or '73, purchased by Mr. Joseph Brown. The old house which stood thirty or forty feet east of the street, was then taken down. Many of its timbers were very large and sound, it having been built when the whole town was a forest, and wood plenty. Mr. Brown, in 1774, erected the elegant house owned and occupied [until 1929] by the Providence Bank."—Edwin M. Stone, *The Life and Recollections of John Howland* (Providence, 1857), p. 24.

time to time for town meetings, and was one of the few survivors of the Indians' attack in 1676 (page 36). Houses were built between the present Crawford and Planet streets by John Field (father of William Field), Joshua Winsor, Thomas Harris (brother of William Harris), Adam Goodwin, and William Burrows, respectively. William Mann built on the south side of Planet Street.

The lane which afterwards became Power Street was bordered by the lot of William Wickenden on the north and that of Nicholas Power on the south. Wickenden, a member of the town council and one-time pastor of the Baptists, built a house in 1639 which he sold to Ralph Earle, together with a "2-pole square of ground," and moved to the vicinity of Foxes Hill; in 1646 Christopher Unthank acquired the remainder of the lot. Nicholas Power erected a house in 1639 and later purchased the next lot south, originally in possession of Widow Joan Tyler. He died 1657 and his property was inherited by his widow Jane and on her death, in 1667, by her son Nicholas Power II, who married Rebecca Rhodes in 1672 and was killed in the Great Swamp Fight of 1675. Widow Jane Sears built in 1641 on the next lot adjoining which subsequently was acquired by Roger Williams' son Daniel, who married Nicholas Power II's widow in 1676; part of the lot is incorporated in Williams Street, which took its name from the founder of the colony.

Between Williams and Transit Streets were the houses erected by Thomas Hopkins, Edward Hart, Joshua Winsor and Hugh Bewett. Hart sold his property to Robert West about 1643; Winsor built a house in 1650 on the lot originally assigned to Matthew Weston, to which he moved from his former dwelling. Bewett's property passed to William Hawkins 1644 and later to James Ashton, and the house was built by one of the three. The dwellings south of Transit Street were built by William Hawkins and Christopher Unthank; the latter moved to Shawomet and sold his property to Thomas Roberts.

The tax list of 1650 also records the names of certain home owners on the Neck outside the home lots. These include Thomas Suckling and William Wickenden to the south, Arthur Fenner to the East, and John Browne, Christopher Smith, William Fenner, Widow Smith, and John Jones to the north. Beyond the confines of the Neck two house owners were listed on the west side of the river and seven at Pawtuxet.

The "civic center" was further developed in 1655 by the establishment of a tannery, operated by Thomas Olney, Jr., a short distance east of the mill "out by ye Stampers."<sup>39</sup> A highway leading to the mill and tannery was laid out at that time which branched northerly from the Towne Street at the foot of the hill and followed the lines of the present Mill, Bark and Hewes streets, swinging easterly to intercept the Common Road to Pawtucket, the northerly extension of the Towne Street.

The first bridge across Providence river was erected in 1660 at a cost of £160,<sup>40</sup> connecting the east shore with Weybosset Point, at the location of the present Market Square, and providing access to the meadow lands. The crossing had been made previously by a ford in the river over which the Indians had trailed for many years. Not long after the bridge had been built two of its trestles gave way and specifications were drawn for its reconstruction, as follows: "They are to make Timber worke in the forme of a square, diamond fashion which shall serve in the steed of those two Tressells that are downe, and shall rare it up in

<sup>39</sup> *E. R. P.*, II, 83. Stampers was the former name of a hill rising from the east side of Moshassuck river to the present Carleton Davis Boulevard. "It has been handed down by tradition, that soon after the settlement of Providence, a body of Indians approached the town in a hostile manner. Some of the townsmen by running and stamping on this hill, induced them to believe that there was a large number of men stationed there to oppose them, upon which they relinquished their design and retired. From this circumstance the hill was always called Stampers' hill, or more generally, the Stampers."—William R. Staples: *Annals of the Town of Providence* (Providence, 1843), hereafter Staples, p. 117.

<sup>40</sup> *E. R. P.*, II, 130.



the river to make up the Bridge and lay sufficient Gice over the said diamond unto the other Tressells next it on both sides and to planke with plankes untill it be sufficiently planked . . . and also to procure posts and railes and raile up the Bridge where the defects are, and also to set up new posts where they are wanting at the end of the Bridge as well at the owne end as the other . . . ”<sup>41</sup> Further repairs were required from time to time and eventually the cost of its maintenance proved so great that the bridge was abandoned and was torn down or washed away. It was not until 1711 that the next span was erected at that location, and the river ford was again used in the interim.

A bridge of smaller proportions was built across Moshasuck river in 1662 where Randall Square is now located, connecting the mill highway with the 6-acre lots on the other side. According to the vote at town meeting in May of that year the bridge was to be completed “before the next hay tyme.”<sup>42</sup>

By a conveyance on the part of the Indians in 1659 the territory of the town of Providence was extended 20 miles westerly “from a hill, called Fox’s hill, upon a straight line, running up into the country between Pawtucket [Blackstone] and Pawtuxcette river,”<sup>43</sup> including practically all of the present Providence County east of Blackstone, Seekonk and Providence rivers. Three years later, in 1663, Charles II of England granted the colony of Rhode Island a new charter, superseding the patent of 1644 (page 25) and naming as the first governor Benedict Arnold, who subsequently was elected by the freemen of the colony.<sup>44</sup>

On March 30, 1676, Providence was attacked by the Indians. Previously a large proportion of the citizens had removed to Newport with their families and effects, leaving only 27 men to defend the town.<sup>45</sup> They established a gar-

<sup>41</sup> *E. R. P.*, XV, 109.

<sup>42</sup> *E. R. P.*, III, 25.

<sup>43</sup> *R. I. C. R.*, I, 35.

<sup>44</sup> *R. I. C. R.*, II, 3-21.

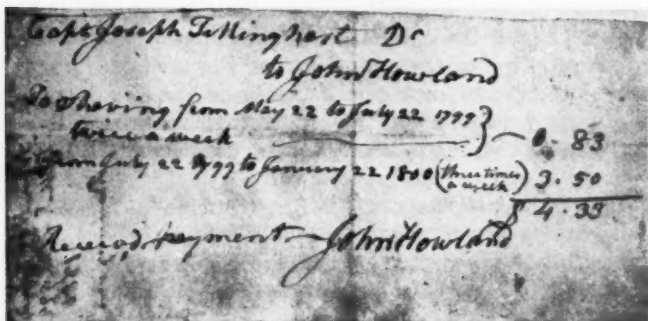
<sup>45</sup> *E. R. P.*, XV, 151.

rison in William Field's house (page 33), the windows of which had been fitted with gratings; although those men succeeded in defending their garrison the Indians were successful in burning most of the other houses on the Towne street, as well as the mill, the tannery and the miller's house on Moshassuck river. John Smith, Jr., the miller, was then town clerk and the records were in his possession. "They were thrown from his burning house into the mill pond to preserve them from the flames, and to the present day they bear plenary evidence of the two-fold dangers they escaped, and the two-fold injury they suffered."<sup>40</sup>

A few weeks after the Indians' attack a King's Garrison of seven men was established in Providence under Captain Arthur Fenner. No further fighting developed in the town, however, and the inhabitants gradually drifted back to Providence and commenced to clear away the ruins and to start rebuilding.

<sup>40</sup> Staples, p. 166.

*To be continued*



RECEIPT FOR SHAVING CAPTAIN JOSEPH<sup>4</sup> TILLINGHAST (1735-1816) FROM JOHN HOWLAND (1757-1854), OWNER OF A HAIR-DRESSER'S SHOP, ON THE SITE OF THE PRESENT PROVIDENCE WASHINGTON INSURANCE COMPANY, NORTH MAIN STREET.

JOHN HOWLAND, SECOND PRESIDENT OF THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, WAS AUDITOR AND TREASURER OF THE TOWN OF PROVIDENCE AND A FATHER OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM; THE JOHN HOWLAND SCHOOL IS NAMED FOR HIM.

## Book Reviews

### THE NEWPORT TOWER — NORSE CHURCH OR STONE-BUILT WINDMILL

*By Philip Ainsworth Means*

New York. Henry Holt and Company, pp. 344. (\$5.00).

Only so long as the historical profession looks with interest upon the reëxamination of data and conclusions can it be regarded as a vital force in scholarship. This truism has once more been asserted by the publication of Mr. Means's book on the stone tower in Touro Park, Newport, probably the best-known artificial landmark in the United States. There were many who sought to dissuade Mr. Means from undertaking his investigation, many who criticised him for doing so, and many others who merely tolerated his activities. As one of this last group the present writer wishes now to climb upon the Means band wagon. This is not to say that Mr. Means has proven his contention; he is far from thinking that himself. It is, however, an expression of belief that he has most effectively reopened a question which informed and uninformed opinion had long ago considered closed, and has shown, furthermore, that the earlier solution of that question was reached through an obvious and too easy interpretation of documentary data.

For a great many years the generally accepted explanation of the existence of the Newport tower had been that it was a structure erected by Governor Benedict Arnold as a windmill for grinding corn, modeled upon a circular windmill at Chesterton in Warwickshire, near which Governor Arnold had been born and reared. This theory had its origin and support in the phrase of Arnold's will which described the tower as "my Stone built Wind-miln". Against this interpretation Mr. Means opposes certain general considerations and at least two special ones of direct bearing. If the tower was designed as a windmill, he asks, why was "it made to rest on eight chunky but feeble-looking columns which are ill-suited to withstand the strains and stresses of windmilling? And where were the millstones placed? If they were situated in that open space within the circle of columns, what would prevent the newly-ground meal from being blown in all directions before it could be gathered into sacks? And if they were to be placed in the room over the arches, why was there an open fireplace in that room, a fireplace whose flames would have been very dangerous because of the highly combustible dust rising from the revolving millstones?"

From these queries of high pertinence, Mr. Means goes on to comment upon the fact that the tower is an architectural anomaly in America. Here is a circular building of stone standing in a part of the world where most other old buildings are rectangular and made of brick or wood. The

column and arch construction of its lower story are elements extremely rare in New England building before 1700. It is, in short, "that rarity of rarities in our country — an ancient circular, stone built ruin."

The first of the special considerations which Mr. Means brings to bear against the Arnold theory is that the Governor did not aver that he himself had erected the tower from the ground up for use as a windmill, but simply referred to it by way of identification as "my Stone Built Wind-miln". His second consideration is the evidence, based upon the researches of several genealogists, that Governor Arnold was not born and reared near Chesterton in Warwickshire, but at Ilchester in Somerset, and that in all probability he never saw the ornamental structure or astronomical observatory at Chesterton which, it is believed, was not converted to use as a windmill until long after his departure from England.

This is the barest outline of Mr. Means's argument against the Arnold theory, extensively set forth in his sections headed "The History of the Two Rival Theories" and "Critical Examination of the Arnold Theory." These are introduced by a section in which appear the most thorough examination yet made of the tower from the architectural standpoint and a searching appraisal of documentary and legendary references to the structure. In the many chapters of these three sections is found a relentless analysis, occasionally abusive in manner where it is a question of "Arnoldist" writings, of the extensive literature of the subject, chronologically arranged for the century or more of controversy which began with a series of letters published in the *Providence Gazette* from April to August, 1823. These sections are fully illustrated by a large number of reproductions of paintings and prints of the tower, modern photographs of the whole structure and of its details, and measured architects' drawings.

In Part IV of his book Mr. Means discusses the theory opposed to the Benedict Arnold Windmill conception of the Newport structure, that is, the conception of it as the central tower of a church built in the twelfth or thirteenth century by Norse residents of North America. Every reader is quick to realize the difficulties which face Mr. Means in this constructive portion of his study. Scholars have accepted the Norse discovery and settlement of the eleventh century as substantially true, but even those who never question the historic fact of that event are quick to admit that the haze of time and the paucity of records have left in a flourishing state of doubt the questions of where the Norse settlements were made and how long they were maintained. This aspect of history has not been Mr. Means's specialty, but he brings to the consideration of it a prolonged reading and study of the small group of documents that exist and of the large literature which has grown out of them. He finds himself in the position of one who must build upon an insecure foundation, erect a theory upon data replete with unresolved questions. He does this with fairness, honesty, and decent humility, succeeding in

the construction of an hypothesis which he thus expresses: "What remains of the Newport tower looks very like the circular arcaded central cylinder of a Norse round church with floors and chambers above the arches."

The fact that we have here one hypothesis erected upon another, that is, upon the hypothesis that the Norse remained in North America until the thirteenth century is fairly presented to the reader by Mr. Means, though implicitly and explicitly he shows himself willing and more than willing to believe in both premise and conclusion.

Mr. Means's description of Norwegian and other round churches is as full and as well illustrated by photographs and plans as his chapter on windmills. The analogy between the round church, widely disseminated throughout the old world, and the Newport tower seems to go deeper than a mere chance physical resemblance. It is easy, therefore, for many of the historians and lay folk who have read Mr. Means's book to accept his hypothesis as a starting point for further discussion. One lays down the long and closely articulated argument with the feeling that he has undergone an intellectual experience, and that is the end and aim of works of letters and research. Few there can be who do not join earnestly in the author's suggestion that the Newport city authorities permit the carrying out of simple excavations which might uncover the ambulatory wall of a Norse round church, or other evidence that would push back by some hundreds of years the horizons of North American history.

John Carter Brown Library

LAWRENCE C. WROTH

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#### WALKS AROUND PROVIDENCE

By JOHN HUTCHINS CADY

Providence: The Akerman-Standard Press, 1942, pp. 43 and map. Paper 50 cents.

Mr. Cady's guide book fills a long felt want. Native and stranger alike continuously ask for such information as is here provided. Many a life-long resident will find that Mr. Cady by peopling visible Providence with the architects and owners has brought new life to the familiar streets and created a new interest in every-day surroundings.

*Walks Around Providence* is a compact condensation of years of study by the author, long Chairman of the City Plan Commission.

The "Walks" are well chosen — and are not too long. They may be followed easily on the map; the directions are simple and adequate; the size is convenient for the pocket.

No one interested in Providence should be without it. We have it on sale.

Rhode Island Historical Society

WILLIAM G. ROELKER

## Warwick Tercentenary (1643-1943)

Shawomet, later renamed Warwick in honor of Robert, Earl of that name, was settled in January, 1643, according to our present day calendar.

Led by Samuell Gorton, Randall Holden and John Greene, a dozen heads of families, finding themselves unwelcome to their neighbors at Papaquinepaug (now Roger Williams Park) removed south of the Pawtuxet river "into another part of the Nanyanset Bay, further from the Massachusetts, and where none of the English . . . had anything to do, but only Indians, the true natives, of whom we bought a parcell of land, called Shawomet . . . not only of Myantonomy, chief Sachem . . . ; but also with the free consent of the inhabitants. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

The original deed, now in the John Carter Brown Library, is here reproduced for the first time, as one of a series of articles and illustrations marking the Tercentenary.<sup>2</sup>

The painting of Governor William Greene (1695/96-1758) on the cover is one of the earliest portraits of a worthy of Warwick, few of whose inhabitants could afford to indulge in such luxuries. Signed and dated (1750) by Peter Pelham, it is one of two or three known portraits by the step-father of John Singelton Copley.

Some consequences of the treaty of submission by the Narragansett Sachems to King Charles I, which have been previously overlooked, are developed in "Samuell Gorton's Master Stroke," by W. G. Roelker, appearing in this issue.

W. G. R.

1 "Simplicities Defence," *R. I. H. S. Coll.*, II, 59-60.

2 This series made be said to have begun with "The Revolutionary Correspondence of Nathanael Greene and John Adams," by Bernhard Knollenberg, *Rhode Island History*, I, No. 2 (April, 1942), 45-55 and No. 3 (July, 1942), 78-83. The cover of this issue is a reproduction of a portrait in oil of General Greene by Rembrant Peale not Randolph Peale, as erroneously stated. No. 4 (October, 1942) contains the Order of Exercises and principal addresses at the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the birth of General Nathanael Greene, Warwick's most famous son, 109-25.

[illegible]

ORIGINAL DEED TO SHAWOMET (WARWICK)



## Role of an Historical Society in Time of War

by KENNETH B. MURDOCK

*President, Colonial Society of Massachusetts*

on the occasion of its FIFTIETH anniversary, November 23, 1942

A problem uppermost in the minds of many of us has been, I am sure, the proper role of a Society such as this in time of war. It has seemed to me and to the Council — and I hope that you will all agree — that our chance to be useful is as great as ever, and that for us to continue our corporate activities, is not less, but possibly even more, important than in times of peace. About the eventual success of our arms against the Axis none of us have any doubt, but success in arms comes not simply by arms, and a truly successful peace must be worked for if it is to follow our successes in the field. I, at least, believe that a sense of the values which humane studies alone can teach; a consciousness of our great historical tradition; a realization that what we are fighting to preserve is what our ancestors more than once risked their lives to save for us; a passionate conviction of the validity of the great values in our American past; are necessary if our morale during the struggle is to be at its highest, and if the peace that is to come is to make a fit world for free men.

I have been seeing a good deal in the past few months of boys who are studying history and literature on the eve of going actively into the fight. They are intensely eager for the fight, intensely eager to win it whatever the cost, but they are as eager to make themselves able to fight better by understanding deeply what they are fighting for, and rightly they turn to the humanities for assurance and inspiration. They are fully conscious of what we perhaps too often forget — that they are fighting enemies who have used education and scholarship as weapons in war. Those enemies have distorted history and have perverted the arts, but their distorted history, perverted art, and false philosophy, have become part of the military strength of their fighting men. We have better weapons than they in *true* history. We need not pervert or distort or falsify in supplying our men with what they need to understand and to believe, but we cannot equip them with what they need to face the foes they must face unless we keep alive such values as this Society fifty years ago was founded to perpetuate. Our service in this Society may be small but, however small, it is part of what must be, if we are to succeed, an effort in which every educational and scholarly agency must join.



